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ABSTRACT

This paper takes the position that women can and should be represented as administrators in greater proportion to their numbers in public education, and that concrete steps must be taken to remedy the present imbalance. The paper is based on material from professional publications dealing with sexism and the role of women in education; conferences of educators and interviews with participants in these conferences; interviews with people in government agencies, private and professional groups, and several school systems involved in reform efforts; reports on specific school systems; reports of special task forces; and on events on the federal level and in selected States. The publication documents the virtual absence of women from administrative positions in public education, explores reasons for the declining percentages of women in public education, and reviews and recommends ways to begin reversing this trend. (Author/DN)

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Women in Administrative Positions in Public Education

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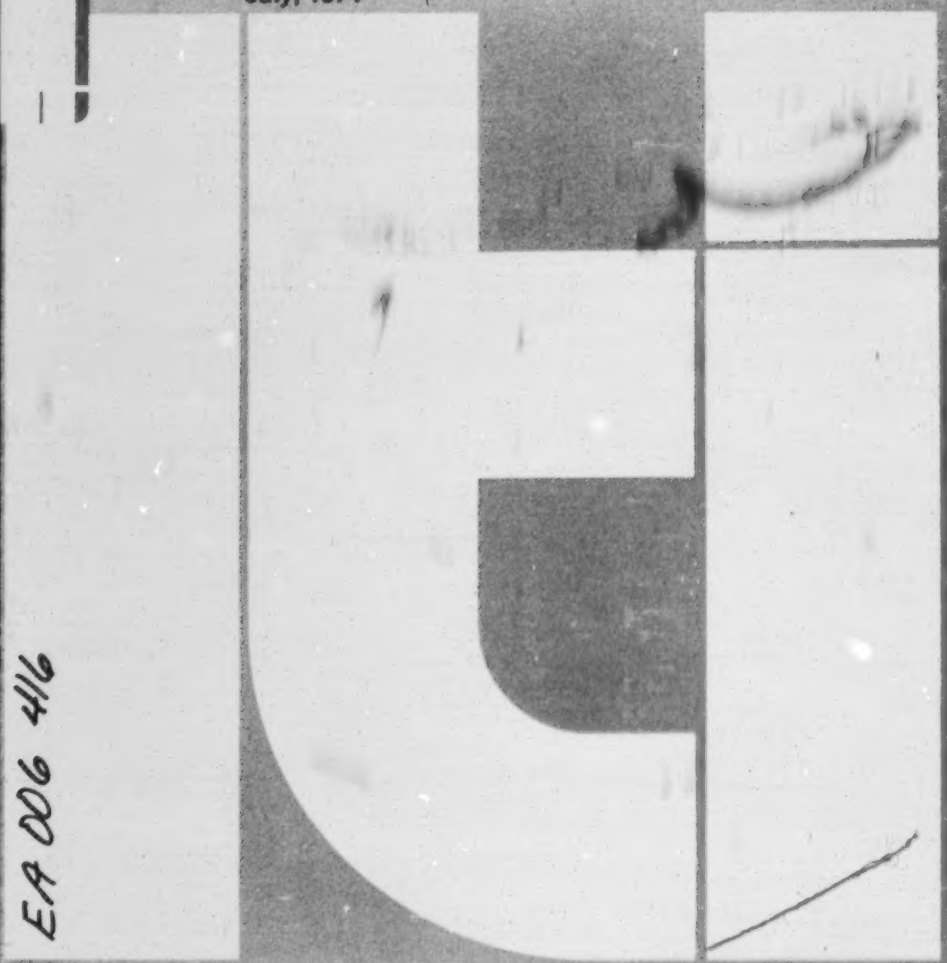

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Preface

This Recruitment Leadership and Training Institute position paper was undertaken out of a conviction that women can and should be represented as administrators in greater proportion to their numbers in public education and out of a belief that concrete steps must be taken to remedy the present imbalance. The paper is based on material from professional publications dealing with sexism and the role of women in education; conferences of educators and interviews with participants in these conferences; interviews with people in government agencies, private and professional groups, and several school systems involved in reform efforts; reports on specific school systems; reports of special task forces; and on events on the federal level and in selected states.

The Recruitment L.T.I. hopes that this position paper will heighten awareness and lead to a greater understanding of the problem of underrepresentation of women in administrative positions in public education; generate further research, information sharing and discussion; and stimulate the degree of affirmative action necessary to increase the number of women in administrative positions in public school districts throughout the United States.

The Recruitment L.T.I. wishes to acknowledge the assistance rendered by Ms. Gretchen Niedermayer and Dr. Vicki W. Kramer, Options for Women, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose research and writing constitute a major contribution to this paper.

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Introduction

Although women staff public school systems in the United States, men run them. Women are a majority of the public elementary and secondary school teachers, yet they hold only an insignificant percentage of such key administrative posts as those of superintendent, central office administrator, principal and assistant principal. Men are predominant at all administrative levels and thus enjoy significantly greater power, status and monetary return. Men hold almost 99% of the superintendents' posts, and even at the elementary school level, where women are in the overwhelming majority as teachers, 80% of the principals are men. In state departments of education and on the federal level, men are also predominant.

Although education has long been viewed as a "female" profession, women have been largely restricted to entry level positions. Women acquire the basic experience necessary to advance to administrative positions, but they have been traditionally barred from advancement just as they have been in the business world. Graduate schools of education have been open to women, unlike law and medical schools in which only small percentages of a class are females; nevertheless, the situation of women in education is comparable to that in other occupations and is part of a larger social picture in which men assume the dominant and authoritative roles.

Although women make up about 40% of the general work force, they make up 10% of the managers at most. Women comprise no more than 10% of the established professions such as law, medicine and college teaching.[1] In addition, women tend to be concentrated in certain limited specialties within the professions, for example, pediatrics in medicine or trust and estates in law.

It is now a matter of law and public policy that women should achieve a better distribution in the labor force and, therefore, a more equitable representation at administrative levels in

education. During the last few years, sexual imbalance in many areas of employment has been recognized. Major steps have been taken which seek to remedy this condition through federal and state laws, executive orders, city ordinances, and resulting litigation, settlements, and affirmative action plans in business and higher education.

The efforts to change employment patterns for women are part of a larger social concern. In the last decade there has been a proliferation of organizations, books and journals devoted to feminism (the advocacy of "such legal and social changes as will establish political, economic, and social equality of the sexes").[2] Feminists, both men and women, have devoted themselves to the eradication of sexism. One task force studying sex discrimination in public schools defined "sexism" as "those attitudes and actions that relegate women to secondary and inferior status and prevent their equal participation on all levels of our society."[3] Although much of the discussion emphasizes the effects of sexism on women (clearly the most damaged of the two sexes), it should be noted that sexism involves stereotyping and rigid role-definition of both females and males and thus is harmful to both sexes. An important concern of feminists is to release individual human potential without imposing prior restrictions and judgments about that potential and how it should be expressed.

There are those in education who would dismiss a concern with sexism as some peripheral matter for a special interest group. One school superintendent, reacting to a women's rights report on sexism in his school district, commented, "I think we have other priorities . . . Not that we don't believe in it. We surely believe in it, but I don't think that we should be promoting women's lib at board expense."[4] Rather, the failure to confront sexism in education and employment is at the expense of children and teachers.

Some schools have introduced women's studies courses, abolished sex-segregated courses such as shop and home economics, examined physical education programs and sex-role stereotyping in elementary readers. But, as schools undertake to reorder practices and materials so that students no longer learn that women are inferior and necessarily have different aspirations and roles in society, they must also present young people with concrete evidence that those who aspire to positions of leadership can succeed. They must have role models of women administrators. In the words of one report:

> *Personnel in the schools are a molding factor in the development of children's attitudes and life styles . . . . This task force attempted to evaluate the possible existence of discrimination in the field of personnel. We feel that the presence of sex bias there would particularly influence the attitudes, feelings, behavior, selection of careers and future plans of the students.*[5]

The importance of role models is not a new idea in education and was behind earlier efforts to "defeminize" education by encouraging men to undertake secondary, and now elementary, teaching. Thus, educators long ago agreed on the interrelationship of employment and education and the validity of attempts at altering lopsided employment patterns.

Such attempts will provide other benefits to education. Few observers of the U.S. educational system will deny that it needs all the talent and commitment available at administrative levels. Women educators constitute a large reservoir of vastly underutilized talent. A 1972 New York State commission studying secondary school administration concluded that "nothing in our studies has convinced us that males are inherently superior to females as educational administrators."[6] Other studies suggest that women are in some respect superior as administrators.[7] In either view, their potential is virtually

unexplored.

One of the few more comprehensive studies to deal with this issue is the paper of May, 1973, for the Harvard Graduate School of Education, "The Dimensions of Discrimination in the Leadership of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Potential for Legal Redress," by Jacqueline P. Clement, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Hanover, New Hampshire. The author notes that "what has been significant in this study was what was not there . . . statistical tables, research documents, books, scholarly journal articles."[8] Clement suggests what kinds of data must be gathered:

> *Specifically, we need information about the number of women who have aspired to administrative roles and failed; the conditions under which more women are likely to aspire; the situation in which women are more likely to succeed; the dimensions of the range of success (to be a deputy superintendent in New York City or an assistant superintendent in Chicago differs qualitatively from being a superintendent of an LEA of 400). We need to know the incentives and rewards for not aspiring; the attributes of "male-ness" that are perceived as essential to competence in administrators; the actual performance of women administrators and men administrators; the specific job description which detracts from its desirability for women and its feasibility for married women. How do single women fare vis-a-vis married women, single men and married men? What are the specific mores that discriminate against women public school administrators? What characteristics of women — age, race, training, marital status — are relevant to "success"? We need to evaluate the social and geographic factors, if any, that mitigate potential failure. What are the professional aspirations of women entering as teachers, and how do their aspirations differ across such variables as type of institution offering professional and post-secondary training, academic achievement, socio-economic status,*

geographic region, ethnic background?[9]

One could add to this already impressive list such questions as how many women hold administrative credentials who are not employed as administrators,[10] or even how many women are employed as administrators.

Research is needed to produce hard data to support and suggest new directions in recruitment, training, and selection of administrators. However, change does not have to wait upon total awareness or sophisticated research, but does necessitate an initial admission that a problem exists which must be remedied.

Chapter 1

Data Reveal Sexual Imbalance in Administration

Two facts emerge clearly from the available figures on women in educational administration. Men dominate in all administrative positions — as superintendents, principals and assistant principals — and very nearly exclude women at some levels. The percentage of women in administration, as in the teaching profession as a whole, is on the decline, despite the developing emphasis upon equal employment opportunity over the past ten years.

Enough data are available to demonstrate these basic trends. Insufficient data have been gathered to permit either the presentation of a complete statistical picture of the present or a comparison of such data over a period of years. Data relating to sex have not been recorded or correlated with other data in continuing studies of teachers and administrators by the National Education Association or other professional groups. There is no central source of such data by state. Efforts by others to obtain data indicate that it may not even be collected in many states or by most local school districts.[11] Table I presents this national picture and illustrates the proportions of male dominance in administrative positions in 1972-73.[12]

From Table I it is clear that there are many more women administrators in elementary schools than at any other level. Even here, however, with 30.8% women assistant principals, they are considerably underrepresented in relation to their numbers in teaching as a whole (66.4% of all teachers are women) and in proportion to their overwhelming dominance of elementary school teaching positions, where 83.4% are women.[13] Beyond elementary schools principalships, there is a substantial drop in the percentage of women. The decline ranges from less than 10% at every other administrative level down to .1% at the superintendents level.

Table I also shows the administrative functions, other than teaching, performed by women within school systems. They

Table 1

— Estimated Number and Percent Distribution of Full-Time Public-School Professional Employees, 1972-73, by Sex

Position	Number of persons			Percentage distribution		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF						
Teachers	2,110,368	709,084	1,401,284	100.0	33.6	66.4
Principals						
Elementary (including teaching principals)	48,196	38,750	9,446	100.0	80.4	19.6
Junior high	9,374	9,102	272	100.0	97.1	2.9
Senior high	15,827	15,605	222	100.0	98.6	1.4
Total principals	73,397	63,457	9,940	100.0	86.5	13.5
Assistant principals						
Elementary	6,483	4,486	1,997	100.0	69.2	30.8
Junior high	7,817	7,223	594	100.0	92.4	7.6
Senior high	13,289	12,439	850	100.0	93.6	6.4
Total assistant principals	27,589	24,148	3,441	100.0	87.5	12.5
Other instructional staff						
School librarians	40,540	3,324	37,216	100.0	8.2	91.8
Counselors	49,770	26,378	23,392	100.0	53.0	47.0
School nurses	17,074	239	16,835	100.0	1.4	98.6
Other[a]	33,691	16,812	16,879	100.0	49.9	50.1
Total other instructional staff	141,075	46,753	94,322	100.0	33.1	66.9
Total instructional staff	2,352,429	843,442	1,508,987	100.0	35.9	64.1
Central-Office Administrators						
Superintendents	13,037	12,972	65	100.0	99.9	0.1
Deputy and associate superintendents	853	800	53	100.0	93.8	6.2
Assistant superintendents	5,337	5,054	283	100.0	94.7	5.3
Other central-office administrators[b]	48,488	31,614	16,874	100.0	65.0	35.0
Total central-office administrators	67,715	50,440	17,275	100.0	74.4	25.6
Total Full-Time Professional Employees	2,420,144	893,882	1,526,262	100.0	37.2	62.8

[a] Includes heads of departments, social workers, visiting teachers, psychologists, and psychometrists.

[b] Includes central-office administrators for General Administration, Finance and School Plant, Pupil Personnel Services, Instruction - Administration, and Special Subject areas.

represent 35% of administrators in such areas as instruction and special subjects, which are staff rather than line positions. This is disproportionately low percentage.

Where state and local data can be found, they confirm overall national data. Statewide in New York in 1971-72 only 2.6% of the superintendents were female, 1.7% of senior high school principals were female, and 20.1% of elementary school principals were female. In Maine in 1972-73 only 7% of full-time administrators were women.[14]

After surveying local figures in 1973, the Women's Rights Committee of the Dayton, Ohio, Public Schools wrote, "The similarity is striking in comparing local data with national figures. Dayton has slightly higher percentages of women as principals, assistant principals and central office administrators, but no difference exceeds 10 percent."[15] Kalamazoo found that although 12 out of 45 of the highest level administrators were women, 9 of these 12 were early elemen-

Table II
Percentage of Women Administrators in Cook County Job Categories

Job Category	Women in Elementary Positions	Women in Secondary Positions	Total % of Women
Central Office Administrators	6.9%	1.7%	5.3%
Building Administrators	17.5%	11.0%	15.7%
Program Administrators	62.0%	19.3%	34.5%
Total Administrative Positions	22.3%	13.2%	18.9%

tary principals.[16] Of the 145 districts in Cook County, Illinois, a survey showed that only 5.3% of the top posts in central administration (superintendents, assistant superintendents, administrative assistants, and business managers) were held by women. The Cook County documentation of the decrease in participation of women from elementary to secondary school positions is a case in point.[17]

School boards, universities and government offices

The small percentage of female educational administrators in school systems parallels the small percentage of women in important positions which affect school district practices. Only 20% of all school board members are women according to a 1973 article.[18] In schools of education, the places where administrators are trained, the figures are even worse. The University Council for Educational Administration determined in 1972 that only 2% of all professors of educational administration were women.[19]

The same picture emerges in offices of education at both state and federal levels. In 1973 only two states, Montana and Wisconsin, had women chief officers in departments of education.[20] Where known, the figures on positions held within state departments appear correspondingly bleak. Of the professional staff in the Connecticut State Department of Education 17% were women in April, 1973. In reporting this figure, Suzanne S. Taylor, coordinator of research for the Connecticut Education Association, comments, "The situation in state departments in Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Maryland, Indiana, Florida, and many other states is similarly depressing, according to my colleagues from these states." In the U.S. Office of Education, as of October, 1972, there were four men and no women at GS Grade 18, and only three women among the 48 people at grades 17 and 16.[21]

Percentages of women are on the decline

Comparing recent statistics with what little is available for previous years shows that the percentage of women in administration is declining. This decline is especially clear in figures on elementary school principals.

Table III[22]
Decline in Women Elementary School Principals

	1928	1948	1958	1968	1973
Women	55%	41%	38%	22.4%	19.6%

The NEA estimates for assistant elementary principals show a similar trend. In 1969 an estimated 38.4% of assistant principals were women and in 1973 only 30.8% were women.[23]

Figures from the NEA estimates of administrators nationally in 1970-71 and 1972-73 show a decline even in that short and recent period.

Table IV[24]
Decline in Women Administrators

% Women	1970-71	1972-73
Superintendents	0.6%	0.1%
Principals	15.3%	13.5%
Assistant Principals	15.0%	12.5%

Comparisons of figures for a variety of administrative posts in New York state, in 1970-71 and 1971-72, indicate an overall decrease in the number of female administrators, with a small (2%-3%) increase at only two levels, superintendents and middle school principals.[25] Not only was there a percentage decline in the number of women superintendents nationally but "the actual number of women superintendents in the nation declined from 90 to 84 in the past decade."[26] Although there were six women who were chief state school officers in 1950, there were only two women holding this position in 1973.[27]

The percentage of women in teaching has also gone down from a high of 90% in 1890 to 66.4% in 1972-73. That decline continues in recent years; since 1957-58, the percentage of women has dropped from 73.2%. However, it is important to note that the rate of decline is significantly more rapid in administration than in teaching. On the elementary level, the percentage of women teachers dropped from 87.2% (1957-58) to 83.4% (1972-73). Thirty-eight percent of elementary school principals were women in 1958, and 19.6% in 1972-73.[28] It is important to recognize that the actual number of women has gone up, not down in the teaching profession. In 1959-60 there were 716,156 women teachers in public elementary schools and in 1965-66 there were 825,625.[29] Thus, there is an increasing, not decreasing, pool of women to draw on for administration. On the other hand,men have moved into these administrative positions at a much faster rate than they have taken teaching positions.

The problem

The problem of imbalance in the distribution of the sexes in education is first evident at the line between elementary and secondary teaching: in 1972-73, 83.4% of elementary teachers and 46.4% of secondary teachers were women.[30] The imbalance becomes more dramatic and approaches sex segregation between teaching and administration.

There would also appear to be a number of other disparities related to sex, such as age of administrators and years of experience, suggesting that women have to wait longer and offer more to get the few administrative jobs they have. Jacqueline Clement's study found that all the variables relating to sex, such as age, years of experience and highest degree held, are not reported. However, from looking at various kinds of data she speculates "that women superintendents are older, have more training or more experience, and receive less salary than their male counterparts."[31] They would also appear to achieve the superintendency with greater frequency in very

small districts. A 1970 study found that in a group of small districts which served three hundred or fewer children, women held 8.5% of the superintendencies, as compared to the 1970-71 overall norm of 0.6% women superintendents.[32]

Differences appear again in a 1969 NEA study of characteristics of elementary assistant principals, which revealed that men assistant principals as a group were younger than women (medians 40 and 49 respectively) and that 51% of the women had 10-19 years in elementary school classrooms while 51% of the men had taught only 2-9 years. Indeed, nearly 25% of the women assistant principals had taught 20 or more years in elementary schools, while only 2.2% of the men reported such service. The men were more likely to have been secondary school classroom teachers prior to becoming assistant elementary school principals (11.5% men compared to 2.5% women).[33] Such figures, in conjunction with the overwhelming evidence of male predominance at administrative levels, tend to suggest a pattern of differentiation related to sex that warrants further exploration. Further examination of the causes of underrepresentation of women in administration is also needed.

Chapter 2

Causes of Sexual Imbalance

Women are underrepresented in public school administration today not because they are unable to administer. What screens out women or prevents most of them from moving beyond the teaching level is a process of differentiation based on sex-discrimination.

This paper will seek to identify the most proximate causes of underrepresentation and suggest the most immediate remedies. However,in as complex an institution as public education, which is so intertwined with society's ideals and realities, there is surely no one, simple explanation. Discrimination which results in lack of role models is one of the causes of different and lower career goals held by many women and different training undertaken by them. Unfortunately, if women's goals and qualifications are perceived as the only causes for sexual imbalance in employment, people may not confront the real facts of discrimination. Although women's attitudes and aims are important concerns for education, women themselves are not a sufficient cause for the sexual imbalance in administration.

Are women to blame?

Women's Aspirations

Proportionally fewer women than men aspire to administrative posts. Florence Howe, editor of the *Feminist Press* and President of the Modern Language Association, makes a connection between the lower percentage of women administrators and the generally low aspirations of women. She identifies aspiration as "the crucial issue in women's education."[34] There is a growing body of literature devoted to analyzing and documenting the process of *Training the Woman to Know Her Place*. An excellent study bearing this title was recently prepared for the Pennsylvania Department of Education.[35] The process results, according to Matina S. Horner, President of Radcliffe College, in women's "motive to avoid success."[36]

The cultural ideals of men's and women's roles are in conflict with the emerging recognition of equal rights, and thus, creates difficult pressures for the women in selecting and pursuing professional careers. An excellent discussion is Athena Theodore's introduction to *The Professional Woman* in which she explores various reasons for the small percentage of women in professions or positions of authority. She indicates that the choice of teaching may not necessarily be real career commitment; rather it is the path of least resistance, a choice which is socially acceptable and correlates with family goals. It would appear that women who aspire to be teachers are not those career and success-minded women who would perhaps be motivated to choose careers in administration. But patterns of choice and family life are changing. The book *The Professional Woman*[37] is part of that process.

Although Theodore and Howe discuss women's aspirations, both recognize discrimination as an important aspect of the professional and educational picture. They suggest that there are more women who are interested in administrative positions than ever reach them. However, men charged with hiring and promoting in many fields have claimed that women are not interested and do not apply.

It seems reasonable that since there are some women administrators, there may be others who would be interested. In a paper entitled, *Wanted More Women: Where Are the Women Superintendents?*, prepared by the National Council of Administrative Women in Education, the writer points out that most men do not aspire to top positions any more than most women. "Advancement is determined in terms of individual goals, experience and ability — not sex." The problem is that "most school systems are unable to distinguish between women who wish to make teaching their final goal and those who prepare themselves for administration and who seek the challenge of wider responsibilities."[38]

Evidence of interest in administrative posts cannot be based solely on the numbers who apply. A *Maine Times* discussion of the difficulties of women seeking principals' jobs comments, "One young woman complained that women don't even apply for top jobs because they feel it's a foregone conclusion they won't get them."[39] This response to prior discrimination is a recognized phenomenon (the "chilling effect") among minorities seeking employment, according to a spokesman for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[40] The social conditioning of women may also prevent them from making an aggressive attempt to enter places where they perceive themselves not to be wanted.

The most potent evidence that there are interested women who are thwarted is bound to be in the form of court decisions finding discrimination. Although several have affected the business world, equal employment opportunity legislation has only recently been applied to education.[41]

Women's Qualifications

Men in charge of hiring and promotion frequently claim that they cannot find qualified women. A recent attempt to survey the existing labor pool of women with accepted administrative credentials, specifically with certificates, revealed that many state departments of education have not collected this data by sex.[42] Putting aside the question of whether certification is the same as qualification, it is worth looking at graduate school figures. A study by the Women's Equity Action League shows "more than 20% of the doctorates in education in the United States have been granted to women. Some 13% of these advanced degrees were awarded in educational administration and supervision."[43] As Jacqueline Clement points out, one cannot tell whether more women have received degrees in supervision than in administration.[44] Figures on degrees conferred in 1970-71 show that women attained 56.2% of all master's in education, 21.2% of all doctorates; and that women

received 21.1% of the master's in educational administration, although only 8.6% of the doctorates.[45] These figures do show a decline in the percentage of women at the doctoral levels and a lower percentage in administration than in other fields of education, and this is an important symptom of the problem of differentiation of sexes. But the figures nevertheless suggest a greater pool of women with credentials than is being tapped for administrative positions. As to the need for the doctorate, a 1971 study of the superintendency showed the highest degree earned by most superintendents was a master's.[46] And although a degree in administration may be a faster route to an administrative position, it may not be absolutely necessary.

The real issue in discussing qualifications for administration is not a mechnical one of the numbers of people with graduate degrees or certificates. There are surely certified persons who are not qualified for positions and qualified persons who are not certified. There has always been hiring of administrators without certification with the expectation that they will get certification after being hired. The *Maine Times* reports:

> *Certification has been used as an obstacle to advancement when convenient. Last year a woman applied for a principal's position and was never asked if she held proper certification (which she does). She felt her candidacy was not taken seriously, but a school board member assured her that certification was not required. Yet, two women in a junior high, who sought an assistant principal's job, were told to go get their certification first.*[47]

A discussion of qualifications should not center on graduate education or certification, but on the other attributes and experiences perceived as necessary for administrative positions by those men and women who recruit and hire. Inevitably, the focus shifts from the aspirations and the qualifications of women, and comes to rest on the process, the system through which administrators are sought, evaluated,

chosen and moved ahead. It is within the "system" that discrimination is apparent.

Sex discrimination within the system

The term "discrimination" tends to arouse anger and defensiveness in those who consider themselves men of good will. Many women also deny or fail to recognize it, something noted both by the Kalamazoo report and by Sheila Tobias, Associate Provost of Wesleyan University, in her discussion of "Male Chauvinism in Employment."[48] Yet, the major causes for sexual imbalance in administrative positions in public education are very similar to the causes already identified in the litigation and literature on discrimination in the private sector.

The Kalamazoo task force defines discrimination as "any action or institutional structure which deters a person or group solely because of sex."[49] "Discrimination against female professionals occurs," according to Theodore in *The Professional Woman*, "when females of equivalent qualifications, experience, and performance as males do not share equally in the decision-making process nor receive equal rewards."[50] The guidelines on "Interviewing and Hiring Women" of the Women's Association of the Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration remind us that "unintentional discrimination is considered as unlawful as intentional discrimination."[51] This is based on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's interpretation of court decisions of the past few years.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission *Guidebook for Employers*[52] reminds us that although overt discrimination has declined, "much discrimination, particularly against females, persists through intentional acts." But it also goes on to point to the "unintentional and seemingly neutral practices" through which "employment *systems* perpetuate discriminatory effects of past discrimination." The courts are now primarily interested in "*effects* of employment practices —

regardless of their intent." The booklet goes on to warn employers that, based on court rulings:

> If a statistical survey shows that minorities and females are not participating in your workforce at all levels in reasonable relation to their presence in the population and the labor force, the burden of proof is on you to show that this is not the result of discrimination, *however inadvertent. There is a strong possibility that some part of your system is discriminating* . . . .

Those parts of the system that are most likely to be discriminating, based on past court decisions, "include practices and policies of *recruitment, selection, placement, testing, systems of transfer, promotion, seniority, lines of progression,* and many other basic *terms* and *conditions* of employment."

The statistics place the burden of proof on school systems to show that they do not discriminate. Educators, themselves, must actively look for discrimination and be sensititve to the possibility that it results from all kinds of practices that they take for granted.

Evidence of Discrimination

Because the law has only recently covered education, one cannot point to court cases proving discrimination in hiring and promotion of administrators. There will necessarily be such cases. However, in May, 1974, in one of the first EEOC investigations of local school districts in the country, the Commission found evidence of discrimination against women and blacks in 24 Delaware school districts. The investigation was undertaken in response to complaints filed by the Delaware Chapter of the National Organization for Women and the state NAACP. The EEOC report found that women were discriminated against in "hiring, promotion, job classification, benefits, wages, terms and conditions of employment, advertising and discharge." The report cited statistical data on the

predominance of male administrators and "men dominating secondary school teaching positions and extraresponsibility jobs that traditionally pave the way for promotion to administrative positions." It also described cases in which females were denied jobs and less qualified males hired. (One even had his certification requirement waived for a year.[53])

As this issue gains publicity, forcing school districts to review their practices, there will be more reports of alleged discrimination. But claims already exist that are worth mentioning here.

Item:
Dr. Gwen Flannigan, the only woman in the state [Maine] for many years to hold a superintendent's certificate, tried three times in Portland to become an administrator. Twice she applied for a principal's job, once for an assistant superintendent's post. She was told she did not get the assistant superintendent's job because they were looking for someone to "groom" for superintendent (which is illegal). "Being a woman, that was the only factor," she claims. She also claims it was made difficult for her to get into graduate courses required to gain a superintendent's certificate until she threatened legal action.[54]

Item:
. . . A Dayton staff member . . . currently is serving as acting head of the curriculum development department, the first woman to serve in an executive capacity on the superintendent's cabinet. Although the superintendent has recommended this eminently well-qualified woman to the position of executive director of the department, the Board of Education has refused to make the appointment. Currently, she is in an untenable position by directing department operations while still handling many of the duties of her former position at a salary of $5,000 less than her male predecessor.[55]

There is one area of sex discrimination that has been decided by the courts. It is only indirectly related to the issue of administrative hiring and promotion but it shows that there may well be patterns that prejudice opportunities for women. The Supreme Court decided in Cleveland Board of Education v. LaFleur that arbitrary cut-off dates requiring pregnant teachers to terminate teaching early in pregnancy violate due process and abridge the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.[56] Such practices remove a significant number of women from teaching for unnecessarily long periods of time and subtly discourage ambition in women who also want families.

Other evidence of discriminatory practices has to be deduced from a combination of sources. For instance, *Wanted: More Women* discusses patterns of discrimination encountered by administrative women and comments:

> *Women educators in the United States long have lived with the realities of discrimination and are able to write their own story of why so few women are in top administrative and policy-making positions. Whenever these women come together for an exchange of views and observations they find emerging gradually the fact that all of them are facing the same subtle patterns of discrimination. These patterns form an invisible barrier for women who aspire to administrative and policy-making positions.*[57]

Other sources for evidence of discriminatory practices are informal conversations with educators, parallel practices already identified in the private sector and, most useful, detailed reports on the two school districts of Dayton and Kalamazoo. A pattern of discrimination may appear upon examination of any or all of the following:

Recruitment techniques. Posting of jobs is often a formality. People are recruited through word of mouth and male sources

and decisions already made even before jobs are posted. Active recruiting rarely reaches women.

Criteria for selection. Job qualifications may require certain types or years of experience that rule cut most women. Such requirements may not be significantly related to effective performance of the job. Specific criteria, such as that men are better disciplinarians, may be faulty judgments or poor definitions (discipline is not necessarily physical). Unspecified advanced degrees are not always job related.

Make up of bodies involved in selection. Personnel departments, screening committees and school boards are usually dominated by men. Although women are sometimes prejudiced against women, research suggests that "female school board members evidenced the most favorable attitudes toward women administrators." Greater numbers of women together tend to give greater support for positive views of women.[58]

Language of job descriptions and forms. The use of the male pronoun often prejudices the description (as the use of the female pronoun evidences sex stereotyped jobs of other kinds within the system). Forms may request information on marital status and age of children, which should be irrelevant to the decision-making process.

Unequal distribution of extracurricular activites. Postions are stereotyped by sex (safety patrol — m, cheerleaders — f). Men tend to hold a preponderance of those providing extra responsibility and greater compensation, and this experience seems to act as prior experience for administrative posts.

Job progressions. There are certain career paths typically followed by those who become administrators, and the positions that typically feed people into administration are

dominated by men. Administrators seem to come largely from secondary teaching (more men) and a very substantial percentage have coached a sport.[59]

Separate social/recreational activities and facilities. Sex-segregated lounges and professional or recreational organizations isolate women from informal contacts and information needed to get ahead.

Different job titles and prestige but similar duties. "Women are usually routed into supervisory positions, program directors, curriculum specialists; men often assume the same duties, but are called vice principal, assistant principal, or assistant to the superintendent. If top level jobs require central office or line experience, women are eliminated, although close examination of their duties reveals that they were performing the same tasks as men."[60]

Age factor. The figures show that women often have to be older to be administrators. Youth and age seem to have different values as applied to men and women. *Wanted: More Women* notes that men in their 20's and 30's relocate and gain administrative experience. Youth acts in their favor. On the contrary, women seeking positions in other systems are "assumed to be too youthful and inexperienced."[61] (NOTE: Women who have made it in business have often "suffered through many years of 'hard labor' before they attained positions of power." The company whose executive level women moved "slowly and arduously throough corporate ranks and achieved responsibility through longevity" should feel warned that it does not have equal employment opportunity.[62]

Isolation on the job. Women who are promoted are rarely given the kind of sponsorship or support routinely offered to men. They are often isolated and left to make it on their own if they

can. *Wanted: More Women* explains: "A newly appointed woman usually has to make her own way. Because her employers are doubtful about the ability of women in general, they seldom commit themselves in advance to her success. They hedge so that if she 'doesn't work out' they will not have been caught in an error of judgment. They give the new appointee and those she must direct the impression that, 'we will let her try and see how it goes.' Under these circumstances, complaints are likely to arise."[63]

Causes of discrimination

Patterns of discrimination are supported by a complex of traditions: Sexism in society is reflected in education, which, in turn, assures the continuation of these patterns. Biased selections may be made not so much out of evil intentions as out of a belief that women want certain positions rather than others, out of a misguided desire to protect them from stresses that they are believed unwilling or unsuited to handle, and out of acceptance of many myths about a woman's proper place and role.

Thinking in such stereotypes not only affects decisions on hiring, it conditions the explanation of those who try to understand the causes for the lack of women in administration. As described in *Wanted: More Women: Where Are the Women Superintendents?*, some of these stereotypes were offered in a written report for a Board of Education.[64]

Our culture has a rigid definition of woman's role, based mainly on her role as wife and mother. As the excellent discussion of the relationship between sex-roles and work-roles by Athena Theodore points out, the professions and semi-professions are sex-typed, the male-dominated professions with correspondingly more status and reward. The "female professions" are those most closely related to the female role in the home, the "nurturing, socializing, and helping" occupations of teaching, nursing and social work. Where men have entered

female professions, as in public education, they have taken the positions of authority and become the administrators. Says Theodore: "Career openings in administrative positions counterbalance the stigma attached to identification with a 'female' profession since sex identities are not culturally prescribed as relevant to the rational functions of large organizations and administrative roles."[65] As this comment implies, sex-typing of occupations (as with sex-typing in general) carries with it judgments about value and ability of males and females.

The myths about the different and the inferior ways in which females perform relate to the picture of the woman in the home. Most of the literature devoted to examining discrimination against women in the job market discusses the array of stereotypes that conditions the thinking of employers, mostly men, who think of women in roles of mother and wife.[66] The more potent myths are: women are too emotional; they do not want to work for other women; they are too passive to be leaders or, conversely, they become too aggressive and "unfeminine" in positions of power; they have high absentee and turnover rates; they are best suited to certain kinds of jobs. While it seems unnecessary to rebut them, point by point, here, an examination of the myth of absentee and turnover rates among women is particularly enlightening.

The arguments on absenteeism and turnover cite studies showing a much higher correlation between level of positions and age group than between sex and continuity. Of particular interest to educators is a study of the flow of teachers in and out of the San Diego school system and another for school districts in Michigan. Both found that "within their twenties, women were . . . more likely to terminate than men, and were slightly more likely to move to another district. For groups in their thirties and forties, termination and mobility rates were the same for men and women. In their fifties, men were somewhat

more likely to move to another district and termination rates were the same for men and women."[67] A survey by the NEA indicates that the curve of distribution of women teachers by age is somewnat different from that of men and that women have more breaks in service, presumably related to marriage and families. However, women still outnumber men in all age groups and have more teaching experience than men as a group.[68] It seems likely that men are more conscious of women leaving to have children than men leaving to accept opportunities elsewhere, although both moves have the same effect on a school system. It is also important to learn more about why women leave jobs and not to assume that the answer is always related to the family. Studies to date have found that frustration and lack of opportunity for advancement play a part in resignations and also in motivation for marriage.[69]

Marriage and child-bearing is central to the stereotyping of women. However, notions of roles and family patterns are changing. Fewer women are staying home, and some men are opting for a share of child-raising. Even more important, not all women marry; not all married women have children. Yet, individual choices and variations are ignored and are prejudged because of a class stereotype. Stereotypes also can become self-fulfilling prophecies: some women themselves accept them as necessary, and policies are made to conform to stereotypes.

There is no point in blaming people for their attitudes. Men and women share many of the stereotypes that affect the preferences of those who recruit, screen and hire administrators. A 1973 NEA survey reported that classroom teachers were asked whether they preferred to teach under the supervision of men or women principals.[70] The replies were:

Response	Total	Women	Men
Prefer male principal	49.1%	54.9%	45.9%
Prefer female principal	2.2%	1.6%	2.5%
No preference	48.7%	43.7%	51.6%

These figures show that almost half the men and more than half the women prefer males; almost no one prefers females. Yet, a significant percentage of those who were teaching under the leadership of a female principal were more favorable toward female principals or had no preference.

Men and women are subject to the effects of sexism and remedies must focus on both changes in attitude and changes in experience; getting more women into administrative positions to give people the experience of having women administrators. Remedies that deal with changing attitudes must be combined with immediate efforts to revise systems and procedures that operate to discriminate. Both approaches will be considered in the next two chapters.

Chapter 3

Towards Solutions—Various Modes of Response

During the past few years, the government, professional educational organizations, and independent groups have responded in various ways to the issue of sexism in education; yet, little attention has been given to the employment of women in administrative positions.

Initial responses have been characterized by attempts to create awareness of the issue. Such awareness builds pressure for action and promotes the formation of groups through which action can be taken.

It is necessary, as indicated earlier, to view the underrepresentation of women in administration as part of a larger problem. But it is also important and possible to isolate this issue when proposing remedies.

This chapter will discuss a variety of modes of response by government, professional organizations, special interest groups and schools of education. The responses fall into these major categories: laws, task forces, research, conferences, professional meetings and publications, organizational change, and recruitment and training programs. There is surely no one best or sufficient response, since a broad range of remedies is necessary. Each of the following categories is related to and enhances the others.

Laws and enforcement

Although the legal foundation for ending sex discrimination was laid in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it was only in 1972 that this act was amended to include the field of education.[71] Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex as well as race, color, religion and national origin. It applies to all institutions, including school systems, with 15 or more employees. Complaints may be filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which has the authority, along with the Attorney General, to go to

court if attempts at conciliation fail.

The other important federal law affecting sex discrimination in educational employment is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, or the Higher Education Act. Its major emphasis is not on teachers and administrators so much as on students, but it does cover employment. A February, 1973, memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, summarized the act for chief state school officers and local school superintendents. It also informed them that regulations to implement the act were still being developed. As of the spring of 1974 these regulations had been issued for public commentary. They will be issued formally in 1975.

A bill introduced in 1973 in the House and Senate by Representative Patsy Mink and Senator Walter Mondale, respectively, would create women's educational programs within HEW and encourage efforts to increase the number of women in administrative positions at all levels of education. The *Women's Educational Equity Bill* is a positive activist approach, rather than an attempt at prohibiting acts of discrimination, and could lead to many new programs.[72]

Legislative responses and powers to enforce equal employment opportunity laws are still evolving. There are some states and cities with relevant sex bias statutes, and the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution would certainly have an effect on all forms of discrimination.

The chart on Page 30 summarizes the coverage of two federal laws concerning sex discrimination.[73] More comprehensive discussions can be found in: *Federal Laws and Regulations Concerning Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions*, distributed by the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges; and the NEA

chart on *Federal Laws and Regulations Concerning Race and Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions.* The NEA booklet, *Combating Discrimination in the Schools, Legal Remedies and Guidelines*, is another valuable source.

Federal laws and regulations concerning race and sex discrimination in educational institutions	Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972	Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972
Which institutions covered?	All institutions with 15 or more employees	All institutions receiving federal monies by way of a grant, loan or contract
What is prohibited?	Discrimination in employment (including hiring, upgrading, salaries, fringe benefits, training and other conditions of employment on basis of race, color, religion, national origin or sex). Covers all employees.	Discriminations against students or others on the basis of sex.
Exemptions from coverage	Religious institutions are exempt with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion to perform work at that institution. (Such institutions are not exempt from the prohibition of discrimination based on sex, color and national origin.)	Religious institutions are exempt if application of the provisions is not consistent with the tenets of the religious organization. Military schools are exempt if their primary purpose is to train individuals for the U.S. military service or the merchant marine. Dis-

		crimination in admissions prohibited only in vocational institutions, graduate and professional institutions and public undergraduate coeducational institutions.
Who enforces?	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)	HEW's Office for Civil Rights is expected to have primary enforcement powers to conduct reviews and investigations.
Who can make a complaint?	Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved employee(s) or applicant. Members of Commission may also file charges.	Individuals and/or organizations on own behalf or on behalf of aggrieved party.
Can investigations be made without complaints?	No. Government can conduct investigations only if charges have been filed.	Yes. Government can conduct periodic reviews without a reported violation, as well as in response to complaints.

Limitations of Legal Response.
Legal responses are usually quite slow since it takes time to pass laws and translate them into workable policy. Under Title VII, the EEOC can only respond to complaints; it cannot initiate investigations. Here, too, the process of handing down an individual decision (or a group decision, in a class action suit) is slow because of EEOC's backlog. However, decisions relating to women in educational administration will inevitably

appear, following on the heels of such decisions striking down required termination for pregnant teachers.

Not only is the legal route often a long one, it is a frightening one for many individuals. Not everyone will be willing to take it. However, it does provide a way for both individuals and professional groups to seek remedies.

Those seeking to bring about change may wish to encourage complaints and suits where other methods are not working. Judging from the reaction of business, the very knowledge that legal action is possible and other systems have suffered damaging court decisions may impel people in positions of authority to change policies voluntarily.

Task forces and study commissions

During the past few years, various government officials have appointed task forces or study commissions to recommend policy. For instance, the U.S. Commissioner of Education established a task force in 1972 to investigate the impact of Office of Education programs on women. The resulting report, *A Look at Women in Education: Issue and Answers for HEW*, deals with sexism in education but devotes only a short passage to women in administrative positions.[74] It recommends additional research, special programs, and dissemination of information to the public and to educators on legal implications and on the larger issues involved in sex discrimination.

Similar state and local reports have been issued. Task forces are clearly valuable means for focusing concern, initiating bureaucratic self-analysis and suggesting new directions for policy. They increase the awareness of public officials and educators and, therefore, make it more difficult for them to claim ignorance of discrimination. Such reports may lead to action, as seems the case in Pennsylvania, where the State Department of Education undertook internal implementation

of its task force recommendations on "Sexism in Education."[75] However, they may be used by administrators and government officials to buy time, or they may be disregarded altogether.

In Dayton, Ohio, the Superintendent of Schools established a Committee on Women's Rights in September of 1972 to assess the status of women in the Dayton public schools and to recommend an Affirmative Action Program. In two separate reports of February and August, 1973, the committee charged discrimination in employment and sexism in the educational system and recommended concrete steps to remedy the situation. However, a new superintendent disbanded the committee and suggested that the issues reported on were not a priority for him. Extensive criticism by the newspapers, the community and the board forced the superintendent to appoint a new committee and, presumably, to begin the task again.[76]

The Dayton example shows how dependent such task forces are on their creator for essential support. However, it also shows the value of a written document that can be taken to the public via the press.

Task forces are not necessarily limited to government agencies or school districts. The National School Boards Association has also created a commission to study the role of women on school boards and identify factors that prevent more women from serving on boards of education.[77]

Research

Most task forces engage in research prior to issuing reports and suggest areas in which further information is needed. The necessity for additional research has already been suggested in this paper. Jacqueline Clement's list of unanswered questions (see "Introduction") could provide an agenda for researchers for some time to come.

Some of the research needs are beginning to be met by such groups as the American Education Research Association, whose task force on women has led to the formation of a research group on women in education and the preparation of scholarly papers for their next convention.[78]

One established group that has attempted to accumulate data on positive action being taken is Pi Lamda Theta, the honor and service association for women in education. Its small survey of about 100 chapters points up the need for further information on actions taken by local districts to bring about equality for women.[79]

Established groups may also accumulate important data by including questions relevant to sex in their regular surveys. The American Association of School Administrators, in a questionnaire for a 1971 report on the superintendency, asked for identification of gender and learned that there are almost no women superintendents. However, the study did not attempt to correlate sex with such factors as length of service, degrees earned, and positions held prior to appointment.[80]

Unfortunately, the National Association of Secondary School Principals has stopped asking the sex of respondents in its questionnaires, thus making it impossible to correlate the sex of principals with other characteristics.[81]

The need for data may in the end be best met by organizations whose main purpose is to focus on sexism in education. One such group, the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, funded by the Ford Foundation and the National Foundation for Improvement of Education,[82] provides material to individuals and groups and publishes a newsletter.

The Education Commission of the States is seeking funding to establish a national office which would gather information on

equal rights for women in education and disseminate this to all state departments of education.[63]

Research of this kind must be funded so that educators and policy makers know how far they have come and how far they have to go. It must also provide information on which to base decisions about the best ways to get there.

Conventions and special conferences

Meetings to discuss the issues of sexism and discrimination are useful for the exchange of information and as a stimulus to action. They generate a cohesiveness and mutual support which enables concerned persons to act in ways very different from those of isolated individuals.

Special conferences

In April, 1972, the Connecticut Education Association sponsored the Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women, one of the first to deal exclusively with sexism in education. From it came a booklet, *51% Minority*, directed to local groups, providing information on the status of women in education.[64]

In 1973 statewide conferences concerning sex bias in both curriculum materials and employment practices were held in at least ten states. They were jointly sponsored by various combinations of state departments of education, human relations commissions, teachers' associations, commissions on the status of women, local chapters of the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and the National Organization for Women (NOW). There has also been a national conference on sex role stereotypes, sponsored by NEA with a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. At this conference a mailing list of 10,000 was developed and the groundwork laid for the establishment of the Resource Center for Sex Roles in Education.[65]

A small conference on Women in Educational Policy Making held in Denver in January, 1974, and co-sponsored by the Institute for Educational Leadership at George Washington University and the Education Commission of the States, planned on producing materials for state departments of education, school boards, university faculty in schools of education, and local administrators.[88]

Although such special meetings undoubtedly draw on the most committed and aware women, particularly at the national level, state and local conferences may attract a wider range of women who will develop a sense of mission, gain support and acquire helpful information. Local conferences for women teachers may be useful in raising the aspirations of an entire generation of teachers.

Sexism and employment discrimination are not just women's problems; yet, few male educators have had to reappraise their attitudes as a result of these conferences. With one exception — a three-day conference sponsored by the Teacher Leadership Program of CUNY — they have been organized and attended by women.

Certainly, women should take the lead in developing materials, meetings and programs; however, it is important to involve men in what must ultimately be a cooperative effort. Moreover, men now in positions of power and influence must be persuaded to help change employment patterns in education, as they have begun to do in some major industries.

Workshops and Caucuses of Established Organizations

Special programs held as a part of regular association meetings can be the impetus for further actions on the part of these organizations. The American Education Research Association's 1973 conference offered three hundred

divisional programs, only four of which involved sexism (sixteen involved racism). None of the four dealt with employment.[87] The 1973 convention of the National School Boards Association devoted one out of seventy-two "special interest clinics" to "Sex Discrimination: The Big New Problem for Boards." However, it plans to give coverage to the "woman question" in 1974.[88] The special interest clinic on sex discrimination featured a speech by Terry Saario, the Ford Foundation's program officer for the public education division and co-author of the *Kappan* article on *Women in Public Education: Sexual Discrimination in Promotions.*

The underutilization of women was a main topic of the 1971 annual meeting of the National Council of Administrative Women in Education. Speeches given by four educators and Representative Edith Green were later published in a booklet entitled *Women: A Significant National Resource.*[89] All urged the greater utilization of women, deplored their underutilization, provided some informative statistical material on the absence of women from administration, and urged women and men to repair the situation. None offered concrete suggestions on how to achieve these goals.

Perhaps nothing epitomizes the need for consciousness raising among educators more than two panel discussions at the 1973 convention of the American Association of School Administrators. The two panel discussions relating to women were for the wives of the superintendents, one title "The Superintendent's Wife—Some Do's, Don't's and Maybe's," and the other "From Adam's Rib to Women's Lib — You've Come A Long Way Baby." The AASA has had no task forces or committees examining the status of women in education, and its many publications do not deal with the issue either. The 1973 convention did, however, pass a resolution urging that "school systems make continuous efforts to identify women on their staffs who are potential educational leaders, that school

boards implement policies which exclude sex as a criteria and that schools of educational administration actively seek out promising potential administrators among women."[90] Unfortunately, AASA's two seminars for wives (presumably no husbands of administrators were expected) say more about organizational attitudes than its resolution on women educators.

The NEA does have a Women's Caucus which has held seminars at NEA conventions, but there are many more women's caucuses among college teachers in various fields than there are women's caucuses in public education.

Other responses by professional organizations

Their publications

Publications issued by professional organizations are important because they reach more people than do conferences. They are permanent and can be referred to and shown to others. They also allow for a continuous discussion of many facets of the issue.

The National Council of Administrative Women in Education has published a number of booklets that reflect its dual aims: "encouraging women to prepare for and accept the challenge" of administrative positions and the urging of systems and agencies to "recognize women's administrative and executive abilities."[91] Among them are such titles as *Wanted: More Women* and *Women: A Significant National Resource* both cited earlier. Unfortunately, these are distributed largely within the membership and so have limited impact. However, the *NCAWE NEWS* reflects a new activist emphasis in that organization.

Publications of other professional organizatons contain few articles written by or about women in education. For instance, the *Bulletin* of The National Association of Secondary School Principals, issued nine times a year, contained fewer than six

articles concerning women in 1973. However, the editorial staff reports that an issue devoted to the status of women is being considered for 1974.[92]

The October, 1973, issue of *Phi Delta Kappan* (the magazine of Phi Delta Kappa — a male educational fraternity with 90,000 members) is the most useful and exciting model of what can be done. The articles in this special issue on "Education and the Feminist Movement," written primarily by women known as advocates of change, are informative, thoughtful and provocative. Two articles mentioned earlier in this paper, by Lyon and Saario and by Taylor, deal with women in administration.

Self-criticism and internal change

There are hopeful signs that professional associations are moving toward not only creative awareness but meaningful action. The executive committees of the American Association of School Administrators and the National Council of Administrative Women in Education have met to discuss strategies for implementing the AASA convention resolution in administration.

But the very fact that two such groups exist indicates a basic problem: sex-segregation within professional organizations. The AASA is a highly influential group of administrators with over 16,000 members (in 1970), of whom only 561 are women. Some of these are retired, and some do not seem to be administrators at all. Librarians and reading counselors are examples.[93] The NCAWE, which dates back to the early part of the century, is a parallel organization for women, as Pi Lambda Theta is the parallel women's group to the male fraternity Phi Delta Kappa. Until recently, there were no female members of Phi Delta Kappa, despite increasing pressure to admit women. In October, 1973, a resolution recommending changes in the constitution to allow chapters to admit women finally passed on its second vote. It is interesting to note that in 1973,

recognizing the detrimental effects of the Phi Delta Kappa policy, the American Educational Research Association refused to co-sponsor with Phi Delta Kappa an annual award for distinguished research in education.[94]

Sex-segregation of professional groups is not only a form of discrimination, it helps to perpetuate it. *The Professional Woman* describes the effects of separating professional men and women:

> *Discrimination of a more subtle nature is also evidenced in the exclusion of females from the informal networks of cliques, clubs, and other peer relationships where professional decisions are made, knowledge shared, and favors exchanged . . .*
>
> *It encourages the creation of accommodative structures such as . . . separate professional associations which widen the breech between male and female professionals whatever other functions they may perform. It results in female behavior which is deviant from the institutional pattern, and which places considerable strain on the professional self-image.*[95]

The organizational structure separating men and women is part of the overall separation of men and women in employment. Women lose not only symbolically, but in a real sense, when isolated from the conferences and contacts essential to job opportunities. If women were members of the same professional groups as men, they would be able to help change attitudes about women's interests and abilities, and shape the policies of these organizatons. Special women's caucuses or political groups are totally different from women's professional organizations which are separate from dominant male organizations. Recently formed women's groups as, for example, WEAL and NOW are providing pressure for change in education from outside the professions. Even though there are

valid arguments that women can develop cohesiveness, strength and self-respect separately, NOW, the largest and probably most effective feminist organization in the country, has male members.

Innovative Programs — Recruitment and Training

Responses to the underrepresentation of women relating to increasing understanding of discrimination and measures to bring about legal changes through professional organizations do not deal with the recruitment and training of women to increase the pool of women qualified for administrative posts. Scattered programs have been established to deal with these specific issues but even the University Council for Educational Administration, which represents university departments of educational administration and graduate schools of education in general, has not yet addressed itself to the vital tasks of recruiting, counseling and preparing women for administration.

In higher education, there are some special training programs for women administrators on a college level, funded by Carnegie Corporation. One program includes an internship in college administration for recent college graduates plus special summer institutes in management at the University of Michigan.[96] The other is a program of individualized administrative training at the Claremont Colleges under the tutelage of top level Claremont administrators.[97]

There are two programs designed specifically for public school administrators. The first, Western Michigan University's "Fellowships for the Management of Educational Change," funded under the Educational Professions Development Act,[98] was devoted to women and minority men. Of the 25 fellows at Western Michigan in 1973-74, 20 were women. Significant parts of this program are a required internship and a special seminar in Human Relations. The seminar focuses on "the development of skills and strategies for women and minorities

to enter and maintain leadership positions."

Teaching women to be aware of and to develop strategies for dealing with the particular problems they may face until attitudes and discriminatory practices change, is an important contribution to their future success. It is debatable whether it is better to offer special courses within regular graduate programs or to establish special programs that tend to isolate women. Followup studies on participants in both types of programs should help to answer this question. Programs restricted to women participants do tend to silence the argument that women are unavailable.

The second, The National Program for Educational Leadership, also funded under the Educational Professions Development Act, attempts to develop non-traditional candidates, not necessarily women, for educational leadership. The Program seeks talented people both inside and outside the field of education, with emphasis on people in other fields and careers, and fashions individualized programs for them. It is committed to providing "new leadership talent, prepared in unconventional ways."[99]

The October, 1973, draft report on the first NPEL program explains that it did not accept as many women as it would have liked.[100] Attracted through no particular recruiting plan other than releases in the public and educational press and some word-of-mouth recruiting, 148 candidates, of whom 51 were women, were interviewed; 250 applicants were rejected without interviews. Only eight of the sixty-three finalists were women.[101] What happened? The NPEL report admits that the women who were rejected "appeared in every way as qualified as others, or more qualified than others who were accepted." What caused these women to be rejected? Why were the accepted women "either divorced or separated or single"? The explanation: those qualified women who were not accepted "in

almost every case were turned aside for 'lack of mobility' i.e., a 'family commitment'."

Although "mobility" is never defined, it appears to relate to scheduling rather than geographical location. (The plans for the program included a home-base university — one of five or six unnamed in the proposal — but no substantial commitment to courses at that institution and the possibility of programming almost anywhere related to the individual's needs and interests.) Since rigid scheduling requirements may exclude some women with family responsibilities from educational programs as well as jobs, the report's comments are significant. It speaks of

> *. . . a challenge or [sic] to NPEL or similar leadership programs to modify schedules in some way that would permit highly motivated, capable women with families to train themselves on schedules appropriate to their requirements for high level positions in a system whose present leadership is dominated by males. It is not too soon to explore splitting Fellowships and jobs among pairs or trios of women to bring their skills and resources into the needed talent pool. Furthermore, the qualities of female persons motivated sufficiently to apply for NPEL make it obvious that a good program modeled on the Fellowship program could be designed to prepare younger women with families for re-entry into professional life at mid-management levels.*

These proposals for employing women who do not want full-time positions during those years when they have young families and for facilitating re-entry into the job market are being tried increasingly in business and non-profit institutions. There are also women's groups documenting and promoting the advantages of flexible scheduling for both women and employers.

Apparently, modification of schedules was too innovative for the NPEL to consider, even though it claimed to be innovative, non-traditional and to feature "individual programming fashioned around personal needs of the students."[102] Were the needs for flexibility so very peculiar and inappropriate? They often seem to be, to those who have a male bias. But perhaps as striking, is that these women apparently did not turn down the fellowship, they were rejected. There is no explanation of what, if any, demands individual women made. The report merely explains that "23 of the women were married and may be considered to have some family commitment, 4 are widowed and have some dependents." It states as a conclusion: "In other words about half of the applicants were persons for whom 'mobility' was a consideration, regardless of other attributes." Family commitment does not necessarily mean a problem with "mobility." This is a stereotype. Perhaps more data on the applications and interviews would show that in individual cases there were concerns which the NPEL should have taken into account, but unfortunately this report does not detail them. It seems to work on the assumption that women with families are not "mobile."

The reason for examining this issue at some length here is not to attack the NPEL, which does appear to offer some hope for bringing women into educational administration. Rather, the language of the report (in its explanation for the low percentage of women) offers a rare opportunity to examine a written rationale for not "hiring" women. Such rationales and their underlying rigid assumptions are behind many unsuccessful "efforts" to recruit and hire women. Normally such analyses are not committed to writing or even consciously articulated by those making decisions.

Continued research, task force reports, conventions and published discussions of sexism and discrimination will ultimately begin to change the attitudes of decision-makers who

could, but do not, employ women. Meanwhile, something must be done to increase the numbers of women in positions of leadership in the schools. The chief responsibility rests on the local school district, where recruitment, hiring and promoting takes place.

Chapter 4

From Equal Employment Opportunity to Affirmative Action

Equal Employment Opportunity is the law. . . . However, there remains a need to communicate to employers why and how equal employment opportunity usually requires positive, affirmative action beyond establishment of neutral "non-discriminatory" and "merit-hiring" policies.[103]

"Affirmative action" embodies the notion of doing something positive. It is used by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to characterize voluntary or required plans and procedures to end discrimination and change the composition of the labor force in any organization, business or agency. The development of an affirmative action program necessitates a study of the work force, and a written plan with numerical goals and timetables.

Having a written, operative affirmative action program is the clearest and potentially most successful way for a business or institution to change its employment patterns. Such a program may make use of the various techniques detailed in the previous chapter — research, task forces, conferences, special training; however, it is distinguished by specific commitments and specific plans to make measurable change in employment figures. It also places responsibility squarely on employers; at the local level, school boards and superintendents; at the state level, secretaries of education; and on the federal level, the Commissioner of Education.

It is important to understand the difference between equal employment opportunity and affirmative action. Equal employment opportunity, "the right of all persons to work and to advance on the basis of merit, and ability and potential,"[104] is a goal. When it is reached, women, blacks, and other minorities will be employed at every level in numbers proportionate to their respective percentage of the population. It is not enough, as employers and federal agencies originally thought, to declare that an institution has a policy of equal employment

opportunity and to be "neutral" in hiring and promotion decisions (i.e., not consider the sex, race or religion of an individual). Employers who have had such policies (given the same tests to all applicants, applied the same criteria, and so on) have not substantially improved their records.

Overt discrimination (i.e., when an employer admits he will not hire a woman for a certain job) is not the only form of discrimination and, by and large, is the exception, not the rule. However, discrimination can be subtle, unintentional and part of long-standing procedures. Employment systems continue to discriminate daily, creating serious unequal opportunities for minorities and women. An employer may, according to court decision, give the same test to all applicants for a job and yet be found to discriminate because the test has a disparate effect and is not job-related.[105] The same qualifications (advanced degree, years of experience) may be applied to all applicants for a position; however, if they are not valid as predictors of ability to do the job, they may be discriminatory.

Although an institution may be an equal employment opportunity employer, its employees who are charged with hiring and evaluating for promotion may retain subtle, or not so subtle, prejudices which color their decisions. Once women are hired, the company may do nothing to insure their success. On the job, they may suffer from lack of support and subtle undermining of effectiveness which lead to failure and fulfillment of the prediction that they cannot administer as successfully as men.

The purpose of an affirmative action program has been clearly stated in the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Revised Order No. 4 requiring affirmative action by federal contractors:

> *An affirmative action program is a set of specific and result-oriented procedures to which a contractor commits himself to apply every good faith effort. The objective of those*

procedures plus such efforts is equal employment opportunity. Procedures without effort to make them work are meaningless; and effort, undirected by specific and meaningful procedures, is inadequate. An acceptable affirmative action program must include an analysis of areas within which the contractor is deficient in the utilization of minority groups and women, and further, goals and timetables to which the contractor's good faith efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies and, thus to increase materially the utilization of minorities and women, at all levels and in all segments of his work force where deficiencies exist.[106]

Conscious efforts to increase the participation of a special category of people in education are not new. The effort to "deteminize" the schools and attract men into secondary education, and more recently elementary education, sets a precedent for the acceptability of positive action. Present requirements of affirmative action do not involve paying select groups of people more money, hiring people who are unqualified, or deciding on employment purely on grounds of sex. However, they do go beyond lip service. A determination that there must be more women in administration necessitates finding ways to make that happen.

A plan, to be effective, must include adequate mechanisms that are adhered to. Certainly no program will work perfectly or to the satisfaction of all, but a system must achieve results if it is to be considered successful.

Primarily, change means identifying and removing barriers which prevent already qualified women from assuming administrative positions. If these barriers are, in part, stated or unstated qualifications for jobs, re-evaluating them does not necessarily mean a lowering of quality or reverse discrimination. The desire to increase the number of males in elementary

schools involved a re-evaluation of the necessary characteristics of teachers at that level. Re-evaluation is a healthy process especially in such an unscientific procedure as hiring and promoting, where there is far too little knowledge either of how to measure qualifications or of how to make valid predictions of job success. Often job descriptions are written more out of tradition than from careful review of necessary minimum ability and training.

An affirmative action program may, in addition, involve aid to assist people to become qualified who have suffered from past effects of discrimination.[107] For women this aid should involve, above all, formal encouragement and support in the form of career development workshops and special training opportunities, as well as informal encouragement and backing from men and women who have succeeded. It must also, of course, include active recruitment of women for training programs and for administrative positions.

Required or Voluntary

Most school districts are not presently required to have affirmative action programs, although they will now be required to report on employment statistics. The National Education Association's booklet, *What is Affirmative Action?*, a useful initial guidebook, explains the present situation:

> *A school system is not required to file a plan unless (a) it is a subcontractor to the federal government with a contract of $50,000 or more (b) a state law or regulation requires the filing of affirmative action plans, or (c) the system has been ordered to file a plan as a corrective measure for federal agency findings of discrimination. However, voluntary development of an affirmative action plan is a progressive employment practice. Legal prohibition of racially and sexually discriminatory practices covers nearly every public education program, so it is to the advantage of the school system to identify all possible sources of discrimination before charges may be filed against it.*[108]

Although a voluntary program is not a legal commitment, it can become one when it takes the form of an agreement with the Office of Voluntary Programs of the EEOC. Organizations may enter into such agreements to avoid suits which may take years of litigation and result in substantial financial losses in back pay awards.

Affirmative Action at all Levels

Effective programs in federal and state education offices are essential to their ability to apply pressure to local districts and to offer needed technical assistance. Experience in government offices to date indicates that the existence of an affirmative action plan on paper is not sufficient. The U.S. Office of Education's task force found, in looking at such a plan and its working at OE, that the number of women actually decreased over the period of a little more than a year and the planned rate of hiring would have required forty years to bring women into their appropriate representation at higher levels. Administrators were able to "go through the motions" without coming up with results.[109] Newspaper reports on the EEOC investigation of Delaware School districts and the State Department of Education indicate that the state has an affirmative action policy but does not follow all procedures set forth in it, and one district has a plan that may not have formal approval from the school board.[110]

However, the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Education has reported increases in numbers of women and minorities in administrative and policy-making positions within his department. In a little more than a year "a 13 percent increase in the number of white women in salary ranges above $13,000 per year (from 67 to 76)"; "a 366 percent increase in the number of white women in salary ranges above $17,000 per year (from 6 to 28)."[111] It is clear from this report that something new is happening in this state office; it carries a message to local districts that it can be done.

Relationship to Affirmative Action for Minorities

How does an affirmative action program for women relate to affirmative action for blacks and other minorities? Basically, practices and attitudes that support discrimination are related, whether they affect women or blacks. However, it is dangerous to assume that on-going programs for minorities can simply add women as an additional category and be effective, or that a personnel department with responsibility for affirmative action can function effectively when staffed by male administrators and female secretaries.

All affirmative action personnel in a district and all facets of a program must be coordinated, but it is important to appoint someone to take special responsibility for programs for women, and to analyze the ways discrimination operates against women. Otherwise, the unique problems of women may be ignored and the affirmative action program may become less effective for both women and blacks.

Guidelines for Development and Implementation of Affirmative Action Programs

Anyone embarking upon the development of an affirmative action program for a school district should consult a variety of available publications, some of which have been quoted here.[112] The experiences other school districts have had in developing affirmative action programs, both successful and unsuccessful, should be explored.[113] It would also be valuable to look at affirmative action plans and programs in other settings — business and higher education. A representative of an individual school district should also request assistance from the state department of education and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Specific guidelines for developing a program are:

1. *Appoint a Task Force.* A task force should be convened, as in Dayton and Kalamazoo, to make an initial survey of the work force and employment practices and to present recommendations for action. Such a committee must have broad representation from various levels in the school system and from the community.

2. *Select an Affirmative Action Officer.* An affirmative action officer must be appointed who has sufficient time to supervise the program. This need not be a full-time job and can be shared with other persons. But the requirements of the task necessitate a substantial time commitment of at least one or more individuals plus the involvement of a task force or committee.
   The person with primary responsibility for an affirmative action program for women should be a woman. Otherwise the system perpetuates the notion that men in powerful positions know what is best for women.
   The affirmative action officer must have a mandate for action and derive power and authority from the superintendent and Board of Education so that she can deal effectively with top level administrators.
3. *Survey Present Work Force and Employment Practices.* Surveys should be taken to determine job classifications in which women are underutilized, where women are currently employed in the system and the qualifications which they have which would make promotion possible.
   An affirmative action program must involve all jobs, professional and non-professional, within a system. Some of the most blatant sex-stereotyping goes on in non-professional jobs (office workers and custodial personnel), and there can be no significant change in attitudes and practices unless change is evident at all levels.
4. *Employ Consultants.* Where needed, employ outside consultants to assist in the development and implementation of an affirmative action program. Consultants bring with them prior experience with equal employment regulations and procedures, offer a degree of objectivity and provide authoritative opinions which are often more palatable to local personnel.
5. *Secure Approval.* The initial report and final detailed affirmative action program should be approved by the Board of Education. There must also be a publicly stated con-

tinuing commitment to affirmative action.

6. *Publicize Program.* The initial report and final program should be widely publicized within the school district and in the community at large to demonstrate good faith, to encourage women to apply for administrative positions and to allow for input from a variety of sources.
7. *Develop Support Systems.* Every effort should be made to discover and meet the real problems and needs of women in the system through surveys, supportive seminars and interviews with women who are working within as well as those who are leaving the system.
8. *Review and Report Progress.* There must be scheduled periodic reviews of progress with publically announced results to permit means for independent outside review.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

This position paper has documented what amounts to the almost total exclusion of women from administrative positions in public education, explored reasons for the declining percentages of women in our public schools and reviewed and recommended ways to begin to reverse this trend. The Recruitment L.T.I. has taken the position that remedies are necessary and possible. Necessary because the absence of women deprives public schools of needed talent, deprives women of opportunities for full participation in a basic institution and deprives students of role models of women in leadership positions. Possible because present attitudes and employment practices which exclude women are identifiable and amenable to solution and because there are women willing and able to administer.

This is an appropriate time for action. Women's organizations are exposing and challenging sexism in education; laws and court decisions are supporting women's rights to equal participation in employment; and life-styles of women and men are changing. More flexible work patterns are evolving along with support systems that accommodate the needs of women who work — child care, maternity leaves and possibilities of re-entry and re-training.

Throughout it has been clear that assigning blame to women or men is neither meaningful nor productive since the present situation results from a complex of forces and procedures. The emphasis of this paper has been on increasing understanding of these factors and urging continued research and discussion to identify areas for innovation and change.

Major immediate remedies focus on discrimination against interested, qualified women. Affirmative action is recommended on all levels — local, state and federal — aimed at altering discriminatory attitudes and practices and ultimately increasing the numbers of women holding administrative posts.

Immediate impact can be made by improving recruitment and training of women by graduate Schools of Education. Long-term solutions must consider the aspirations of women students, the need for support and encouragement of women teachers and accommodation to differing life styles.

Some of the remedies recommended in this position paper are already in motion, as indicated in the "response" chapter, some are in the initial stages of development, and some have not yet been tried. It seems useful to summarize these recommended remedies here, as a possible agenda for those who want to effect change.

Individual men and women educators:
Make the elimination of sex-discrimination in the preparation, recruitment, hiring and promotion of women as administrators a priority and insist that all relevant offices and boards do likewise.
Use existing national and local educational organizations and women's organizations in a broad range of actions to achieve equality of opportunity for women.
Work toward developing greater awareness and understanding of sexism and discrimination and toward building pressure for action through a variety of avenues: letters to editors and school officials, talks, panel discussions and debates at meetings of teachers, parents, administrators, and board members.
Be prepared to discuss and take legal action particularly with respect to cases of blatant discrimination.
Act as critics and prodders in every possible situation.

School Districts:
Institute affirmative action programs.
Aggressively recruit women candidates for administrative positions.
Put more women on selection committees.

Establish in-service career development workshops for women to explore career options, discuss sexism and its effects and examine ways to enter and maintain leadership positions.
Develop part-time opportunities for women to remain in the field while raising children.
Hold sessions to make men aware of attitudes and practices that perpetuate discrimination.
Press universities to provide female candidates for administrative positions.
Insist on state and national data on potential women administrators.
Develop projects which analyze and eliminate sexism in existing programs.

State departments of education:
Develop and implement internal affirmative action programs.
Establish policies for directing local districts in developing affirmative action programs and offer technical assistance.
Maintain figures by sex on numbers certified for specific administrative positions and numbers employed.
Work with universities to develop new training programs.
Analyze and reevaluate certification requirements.
Hold conferences in conjunction with EEOC, Human Relations Commissions, women's caucuses and others to develop awareness, obtain information, and teach effective measures to challenge discrimination.
Develop and implement internal affirmative action plans to increase the percentage of women faculty.
Analyze all recruitment and admission practices, courses and placement services.
Offer courses on sexism in education.

Schools of education:
Recruit women for educational administration programs.
Offer programs with flexible scheduling.

Counsel and support women to plan for careers in administration.
Offer courses in developing skills and strategies to enter and maintain leadership positions.
Seek funding for innovative programs to train women administrators.

Professional organizations:
Open their membership to women and combine with parallel women's organizations.
Give substantial and continued coverage in publications to sexism and discrimination.
Include these subjects in convention workshops.
Hold special conferences.
Promote research and dissemination of information.
Act as listing sources of jobs for affirmative action employers.
Give support to individuals who want to take legal action and file amicus curiae briefs in significant cases.
Put pressure on school districts to alter practices.

Federal agencies:
Implement internal affirmative action plans.
Offer technical assistance to states and local districts.
Encourage and fund programs designed to increase representation of women in administration.
Withhold funds and take legal action where possible to pressure local districts to cease discrimination.

Each school district and educational agency is different. Approaches that will work well in one area may not work as well in another. The real basis for achieving full representation for women in administration will not be a rigid adherence to a particular set of procedures, but a will to find and create the procedures that will work in a particular school district or agency.

Footnotes

1. Rosalind Loring and Theodora Wells, *Breakthrough: Women into Management* (New York: Von Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1972), pp. 7-8, 29; *The Professional Woman*, ed, with intro. by Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 3-7. All further references are to the introduction by Theodore.
2. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1956).
3. "Report of the Personnel Task Force, Committee to Study Sex Discrimination in the Kalamazoo Public Schools," April, 1973, p. 1. Hereafter referred to as "Kalamazoo Report."
4. Dayton, Ohio, *Journal Herald*, September 14, 1973.
5. "Kalamazoo Report," p.1.
6. Catherine Dillon Lyon and Terry N. Saario, "Women in Public Education: Sexual Discrimination in Promotions," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Education and the Feminist Movement issue, LV (October, 1973), p. 120 quoting from Report of the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education, 1972, Vol. 3, pp. 13-100.
7. Suzanne S. Taylor, "Educational Leadership: A Male Domain?" *Kappan* (October, 1973), p. 125, cites several studies.
8. "Prologue;" material from this qualifying paper is quoted by permission of Jacqueline P. Clement.
9. Clement, pp. 14-15.
10. Lyon and Saario tried unsuccessfully to obtain this information for their article, p. 120.
11. See Lyon and Saario, pp. 120-21.
12. National Education Association, Research Division Research Report 1973-R5, *26th Biennial Salary and Staff Survey of Public School Professional Personnel, 1972-73*, p. 9. Reproduced by permission of National Education Association Research Division.
13. NEA Research Report 1973-R8, *Estimates of School Statistics 1973-74*, pp. 28-29.
14. Lyon and Saario, pp. 120-21.
15. "The Time is Now" (Report A, The Women's Rights Committee,

Dayton Public Schools), February 8, 1973 p. 3: Hereafter referred to as "Dayton Report."

16. "Kalamazoo Report," p. 2.
17. Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education; *Research Action Notes*, I (December 31, 1973), p. 7.
18. Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 127 citing Girard D. Hottleman, "School Boards: Moneyed Men Governing the Poor," *The Massachusetts Teacher*, January, 1973.
19. Lyon and Saario, p. 121.
20. Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 124.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Adopted from Dorothy Johnson, "What is the Future of Women in School Administration?" *Women: A Significant National Resource* (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1971), p. 35. For source of 1973 figures see above Table I.
23. Johnson, p. 34 and see above Table I.
24. Figures based on NEA, Research Division Research Report 1971-R5, 25th *Biennial Salary Survey of Public-School Professional Personnel*, 1970-71. I, 10 and Table I above.
25. Lyon and Saario, p. 120.
26. *Kappan*, p. 124.
27. Johnson, p. 39.
28. Suzanne S. Taylor, "Women in Education," *51% Minority, Connecticut Conference on the Status of Women*, (National Education Association /USOE -0- 72-2507), p. 66; NEA Research Report 1973 - R8; and Tables I and III above.
29. Kenneth A. Simon and W. Vance Grant, *Digest of Educational Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1972) p. 10.
30. NEA Research Report 1973, p. 8.
31. Clement, p. 8.
32. *The American School Superintendent*, ed. Stephen J. Knezevich (American Association of School Administrators, 1971), p. 21.
33. Johnson, p. 34.

34. "Sexism and the Aspirations of Women," *Kappan*, p. 100.
35. Sandra L. Bem and Daryl J. Bem, *Training the Woman to Know Her Place: The Social Antecedents of Women in the World of Work* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1974).
36. Matina S. Horner, "Why Women Fail," *51% Minority*, p. 8.
37. Theodore, pp. 14-19.
38. Charlene Dale, *Wanted More Women: Where are the Women Superintendents* (Arlington, Virginia: The National Council of Administrative Women in Education), p. 2.
39. February 22, 1974, p. 3.
40. Conversation with EEOC staff member, June, 1974.
41. See above p. 30.
42. Lyon and Saario, pp. 120-21.
43. Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 125.
44. Clement, pp. 10-11.
45. U.S. Department of Education, and Welfare, *Earned Degrees Conferred: 1970-71.*
46. *The American School Superintendent*, p. 45.
47. February 22, 1974, p. 3.
48. *Journal of College Placement* (April - May, 1973), pp. 2-3.
49. "Kalamazoo Report," p. 4.
50. Theodore, p. 27.
51. Tobias, p. 5.
52. *Affirmative Action and Equal Employment: A Guidebook for Employers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission), I, pp. 4-7.
53. Wilmington, Delaware *Morning News*, May 7, 1974, pp. 1-2.
54. *Maine Times*, February 23, 1974, p. 2.
55. "Dayton Report," p. 9.
56. *Guidepost*, pub. American Personnel and Guidance Association, XVI (April 19, 1974), p. 2.
57. Dale, p. 2.
58. Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 127.
59. *Maine Times*, February 22, 1974, p. 3; *The American School Superintendent*, p. 11.

60. Clement, p. 48.
61. Dale, p. 4.
62. Charles D. Orth, 3rd and Frederic Jacobs, "Women in Management: Pattern for Change," *Harvard Business Review* (July - August, 1971), p. 143.
63. Dale, pp. 5-6.
64. Dale, p. 1.
65. Theodore, pp. 5-6.
66. Tobias, "Male Chauvinism in Employment;" Orth and Jacobs, "Women in Management: Pattern for Change;" Loring and Wells, *Breakthrough: Women into Management;* Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, "The Myth and the Reality" (Washington, D.C.).
67. Lyon and Saario, p. 122.
68. Clement, p. 10 citing NEA Research Division, Research Report 1967 - R4, *The American Public-School Teacher 1965-66,* pp. 38, 15, 12.
69. M. Barbara Boyle, "Equal Opportunity for Women is Smart Business," *Harvard Business Review* (May-June, 1973), p. 90; Orth and Jacobs, p. 144; Loring and Wells, p. 147.
70. Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, *Research Action Notes,* I (September 4, 1973), p. 4.
71. For more complete discussion of the laws see Charlotte B. Hallam, "Legal Tools to Fight Sex Discrimination," *Kappan* (October, 1973), pp. 129-131; and *Combating Discrimination in the Schools; Legal Remedies and Guidelines* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1973).
72. See *Research Action Notes,* I (September 4, 1973), p. 1.
73. Adapted from *Federal Laws and Regulations Concerning Race and Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions* (NEA, June, 1973).
74. Report of the Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women (November, 1972), pp. 14-15.
75. "Sexism in Education," Joint Task Force Report (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1972).

76. See Dayton *Journal Herald* and Dayton *Daily News*, September-October, 1973.
77. Telephone communication from spokesman of National School Boards Association.
78. See Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 127.
79. "Current Policies Concerning Women in Colleges and School Systems," Pi Lambda Theta Compilation.
80. *The American School Superintendent.*
81. Telephone communication from spokesman of National Association of Secondary School Principals.
82. See *Research Action Notes*, I (June 20, 1973), p. 1.
83. Education Commission of the States, Denver, Colorado, unpublished proposal.
84. See Chapter I, Footnote 28.
85. See *Research Action Notes*, I (June 20, 1973), pp. 4-5.
86. Efforts to obtain copies of materials prepared at this conference have been unsuccessful.
87. See Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 127.
88. Telephone communication from spokesman of National School Boards Association.
89. See Chapter I, Footnote 22.
90. AASA Conference Proceedings.
91. NCAWE Statement: "NCAWE History — Its Purpose — How the Purpose is Implemented."
92. Telephone communication with staff member.
93. Johnson, p. 38.
94. Taylor, *Kappan*, p. 127.
95. Theodore, pp. 30-31.
96. Reported in Womenpower: *A Monthly Report on Fair Employment Practices for Women*, IV (May, 1974), p. 7.
97. Announcement of "The Women Administrators Program" from the Claremont Colleges.
98. Information on the program based on original proposal and January, 1974 report to project officer at OE obtained from Carol Payne Smith, Program Administrator, Fellowships for

Management of Educational Change, Western Michigan University.

99. "A Proposal for A National Program for Educational Leadership," (Ohio State University: April, 1970), p. 6.
100. Florence D. Shelley, "NPEL Candidates: A Profile for Future Planning," (Draft: October, 1973), p. 8 ff.
101. Figures from Shelley, p. 2 and "Description of Applicants."
102. National Program for Educational Leadership "Proposal," p. 9.
103. *Affirmative Action and Equal Employment: A Guidebook for Employers*, I, p. 1.
104. *Ibid.*, I, p. 4.
105. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 6, 8.
106. *Ibid.*, II, D-28.
107. *Ibid.*, I, p. 1.
108. *What is Affirmative Action? Combating Discrimination in Employment* (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1973), p. 3.
109. "A Look at Women in Education: Issues and Answers for HEW," p. 69.
110. Wilmington, Delaware *Morning News*, May 7, 1974, p. 2; Wilmington *Evening Journal*, May 7, 1974, p. 2.
111. *Research Action Notes*, I (December 31, 1973), p. 1.
112. *Affirmative Action and Equal Employment: A Guidebook for Employers*, 2 vols.; *What is Affirmative Action? Combating Discrimination in Employment*; Loring and Wells; *Step by Step: Affirmative Action for Women*, first published as part of *Womanpower*, Vol. II, pp. 1-12 (Brookline, Mass.: Betsy Hogan Associates); M. Barbara Boyle.
113. The "Kalamazoo Report" and "Dayton Report" are good places to begin.

Suggested Readings

Note: Research on the literature of women in administration in public education is complicated by the fact that much of the material available deals generally with sexism in education rather than the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. Materials culled from current research and writing have been used in preparation of this position paper but further work needs to be done dealing specifically with the problem of recruitment, training and utilization of women in public education.

The following list of books, articles, unpublished materials and resources is a representative selection of material currently available.

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